

Aspects of Discontinuous Negation in Santome¹

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1. Introduction

This paper focuses on discontinuous (or bipartite) negation patterns in Santome (henceforth ST), a Portuguese-based Creole language spoken on the island of São Tomé in the Gulf of Guinea, historically and genetically related to three other Creole languages, namely Ngola (NG), spoken on the same island, (LU), spoken on the island of Príncipe, and Fa d'Ambô (AB), spoken on the island of Pagalu (former Annobón).

Since Ferraz (1979) it is generally accepted that these four languages descend from a single source, a proto-Gulf of Guinea Creole that give rise to four independent varieties. Despite the low degree of mutual intelligibility, the four Creole languages share most of their traits, among which I would like to highlight the basic SVO pattern, serial verb constructions, preverbal TMA markers and the absence of inflectional morphology.

The bulk of the data in this paper is based upon my own fieldwork in São Tomé and comprises both spontaneous data of ST that was tape-recorded and transcribed, as well as elicited data of ST. Except for explicit reference to the contrary, the data are from ST. As to the outline of this paper, I will first briefly address some historical aspects of negation in the Gulf of Guinea Creoles (section 2.). The remaining sections will address the properties of discontinuous negation in ST, focusing particularly on the syntax and the semantico-pragmatics of the negation marker in clause/sentence final position.

2. The negation cycle in the Gulf of Guinea Creoles

One of the distinctive features of the GGC as compared to most other so-called Creole languages consists of their uncommon negation patterns. Whereas Creole languages typically have a single (preverbal) negation

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marker³, ST and AB exhibit discontinuous negation (Neg1...Neg2) as the default pattern (Hagemeijer 2003, Post 1997), NG also has discontinuous negation but the preverbal marker (Neg1) is often optional (Maurer 1995) and LU typically exhibits Neg2 only (Günther 1973). The relevant examples are shown in (1-4).⁴

- (1) **A na kuvida non fa.** (ST; Ferraz 1979: 68)
 IMP Neg1 invite 1PL Neg2
 'They didn't invite us.'
- (2) **Bô pô na f'e wa.** (NG; Maurer 1995: 131)
 2SG can Neg1 do-3SG Neg2
 'You may not do it.'
- (3) **Amu na pô fe f.** (AB; Post 1997: 303)
 1SG Neg1 can do Neg2
 'I can't do it.'
- (4) **N sa podi da txi fa.** (LU; Günther 1973: 78)
 1SG ASP can give 2SG Neg2
 'I can't give it to you.'

Table 1 sums up the emphatic and non-emphatic negation patterns. Since emphasizeers generally occur in sentence final position, following negation, both morphemes commonly contract. Due to its weak prosodic status, especially in ST and FA, it is also common to find Neg2 encliticized to the preceding morpheme.

Table 1. Default negation patterns in the GGC.

	ST	LU	NG	AB
-emphasis	na ... fa	... fa	(a ~ na) ... wa ~ va	na ... f
+emphasis	na ... fô	... fa ô	(na) ... fô	na ... fa ~ fuf

From a diachronic point of view, however, discontinuous negation can be reconstituted in all the four GGC. The table shows that the post-verbal marker is attested in all the modern varieties. Despite the absence of the preverbal marker in LU's unmarked negation patterns, it occurs exceptionally in at least one very specific environment where the other

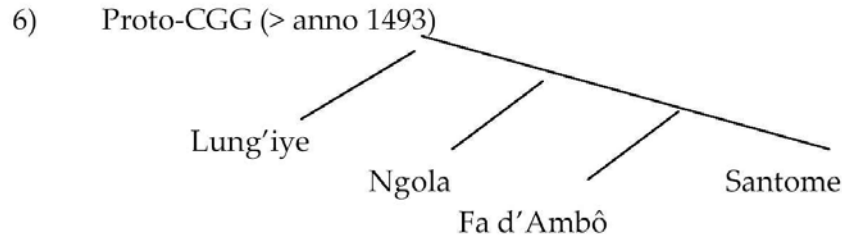
³ To the best of my knowledge, the exceptions are Afrikaans (Den Besten 1986, a.o.), Berbice Dutch (Kouwenberg 1994) and Palenquero (Schwegler 1991, Dieck 2000), which exhibit either basic final or discontinuous negation.

⁴ Since none of these Creoles has an official orthography, I have adapted the orthographies to the one I have been using for ST (cf. Alcântara & Hagemeijer MS).

GGC exhibit exclusively preverbal marking as well, namely in purpose clauses.

- (5) a. **pa txi na kuda ...** (LU; Günther 1973: 78)
 for 2SG Neg1 think
 'so that you don't think ...'
- b. **Ê lôkê kwa bisi rê pa ê na**
 3SG clean.up thing dress of-3SG for 3SG Neg1
nana. (AN; Maurer 1995: 132)
 spoil
 'He cleaned up his clothes so they wouldn't spoil.'
- c. **Osyi ku eli pe olemu sa pa batelu na**
 when that 3SG put paddle be for canoe Neg1
fo buka. (AB; Post 1997: 308)
 go turn
 'When he puts the paddle, it is to avoid that the canoe turns.'
- d. **Soku n sa tlaxi san ku sustu pa san**
 so 1SG be behind lady with fear for lady
na da mu sôtxi. (ST)
 Neg1 give me whip
 'So I stood frightened behind the lady so she wouldn't hit me.'

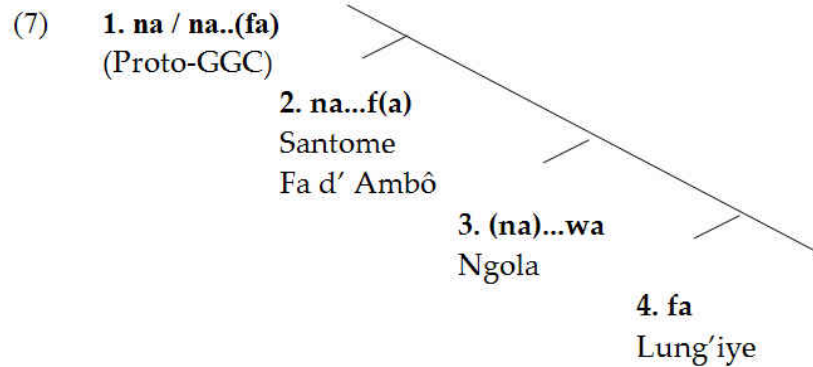
Under the assumption that the four Creoles descend from a proto-GGC that quickly came into existence after the permanent settlement of S. Tomé island in 1493 and split up into several time/space-conditioned varieties (Ferraz 1979; Hagemeijer 1999, 2003; Hagemeijer & Parkvall 2001), it follows that both the preverbal and post-verbal marker should be considered a linguistic feature of this proto-GGC, i.e. a feature that existed prior to diffusion. The historical evidence and the strong similarities between, among other features, the negation patterns in ST and AB suggest that AB was the last Creole that gained autonomy when Annobón island was settled from S. Tomé (cf. Hagemeijer 1999; Hagemeijer & Parkvall, 2001). The amount of contact between the creoles and the amount of independent development after the formative stage has not yet been determined and is likely to remain inconclusive to a significant extent.



Section 4. will show that, in addition to discontinuous and exclusively preverbal negation, ST also exhibits exclusive final negation in marked environments. Altogether, it is highly suggestive to claim that the GGC remained in different stages of Jespersen's cycle as the result of the timing of diffusion and subsequent internal development. In Hagemeijer (2003) I assume the following steps in the shift from a preverbal to a post-verbal pattern:

- a. Initially, Neg1 (**na**) was the unmarked pattern;
- b. Initially, Neg2 (**f(a)/va~wa**) was used as an intensifying element associated with negation;
- c. The semantics of negation shifted towards and became incorporated in this intensifying element;
- d. Discontinuous negation became the unmarked pattern;
- e. Exclusive preverbal negation, formerly unmarked, became the marked pattern;
- f. The pattern without Neg1 constitutes the most progressive state of affairs and has become standard in LU.

These diachronic developments are represented in diagram 7.



Comparing diagrams (6) and (7), one concludes that the varieties of the proto-GGC that arguably split off first show the most innovative negation patterns.

Whereas preverbal **na** can be readily traced back to the Portuguese negation marker **não** ‘no, not’, the etymology of the post-verbal marker is not yet established. Lexically, the GGC show two different substrate sources, Kikongo (Bantu) and Edo (Edoid)⁵ but a wide range of evidence shows that crucially the Nigerian and oldest substrate left significant syntactic imprints (Hagemeijer 1999, 2003; Hagemeijer & Parkvall 2001). Unlike many of its surrounding languages (Yoruba, Ijo, etc.), however, it seems that modern Edo(id) does not exhibit post-verbal negation markers nor intensifying items of negation in the final position (Agheyisi 1986; Dunn & Agheyisi 1968; Omoruyi 1989).

Despite the importance of the Nigerian substrate, the hypothesis that the post-verbal marker is partly calqued upon Bantu should not be immediately dismissed, since standard negation in Kikongo is discontinuous and of a similar “long-distance” type as that of the GGC.⁶ Furthermore, what Bentley (1887) calls the “unnatural negative” in Kikongo, i.e. negation patterns without the final marker and the verb carrying the subjunctive mood final vowel, seems to correspond to instances of negation without realization of Neg2 in ST (cf. section 3.3.), although the contexts without Neg2 in Kikongo appear to be more widespread. Further-

⁵ Ngola has a significant Kimbundu (Bantu) adstrate (Lorenzino 1998; Maurer 1992).

⁶ It is worth noting, though, that Bantu zone H, which includes Kikongo and Kimbundu, both important substrate and/or adstrate languages of the Gulf of Guinea Creoles, has intensification processes of the preverbal negation marker in clause/sentence final position (cf. Güldemann 1996).

more, facts not so different from those of Kikongo and ST are also found in Palenquero (cf. Dieck, 2000; Schwegler 1991, a.o.), a creole language with a significant and quite exclusive substrate influence from Kikongo (Schwegler, *forthc.*).

3. Negation in Santome

In this section I will set out the synchronic negation patterns in ST showing, in the first place, that in this language there are actually three distinct patterns for sentential negation:

- a. the default (or unmarked) pattern Neg1...Neg2 (sections 3.1. and 3.2.);
- b. a marked pattern with Neg1 only (section 3.3.);
- c. a marked pattern with Neg2 only (section 3.4.).

3.1. Preverbal negation markers

In addition to the standard sentence negation marker, **na** ‘not’, ST has two morphologically complex markers that may occupy the Neg1 slot, namely **naxi** ‘not yet, never’ and **nanta(n)** ‘not anymore, never again’.⁷

- (8) **Bô naxi tava nansê ten fâ.**
2SG not-yet TNS born also Neg2
‘You weren’t born yet either.’
- (9) **Oze so n nanta(n) ka dansa fâ.**
Today FOC 1SG not-anymore ASP dance Neg2
‘Today I won’t dance anymore.’

Despite their different morphological composition, these three negation markers:

⁷ The morphosyntax of these complex forms is unrelated to Portuguese and is likely to be substrate-related. The examples in (i-ii) show that Edo, the main substrate language, matches the pattern found in ST.

- a. **E i ghi yo ugbo eghe hia.** Edo (Agheyisi 1986: 58)
He NEG anymore go farm time all
‘He does not go to the farm at all time anymore.’
- b. **I ma he kpao.** Edo (Agheyisi 1986: 59)
1SG NEG yet leave
‘I haven’t left yet.’

For the same purpose, Kikongo uses adverbs with greater mobility, e.g. clause initial, post-verbal, etc. (Bentley 1887).

- a. occur in the same syntactic position between subject and verb (or TMA markers, if present);
- b. are mutually exclusive;
- c. typically license Neg2 (**fa**);
- d. license N-words;
- e. behave as functional projections (e.g. no stranding allowed);
- f. co-occur with negative quantifiers (as subjects or fronted items) in preverbal position, and
- g. do not occur in isolation (e.g. as answers to questions).⁸

In conclusion, these three markers all compete for the same structural position in ST's sentence architecture, which I assume to be a NegP, in the sense of Pollock (1989), that sits in a higher position than the TMA markers. The most compelling evidence that **na**, **nanta** and **naxi** occupy the head position (Neg°) of this NegP follows from the relation between negative quantifiers and Neg1, as in (10-11), where ST is compared to French.

- (10) **Nê ãa ngê na bi fa.**
 Not one person Neg1 come Neg2
 'Nobody came.'
- (11) **Personne n'est venu.** (French)
 'Nobody came.'

I will assume with Zanuttini (1991) that the negative concord reading reflects a specifier-head relation. Neg1 in ST would therefore be a head similar to French **ne**. ST **na** does not, however, exhibit the properties of a verb clitic that characterize its French counterpart.⁹

3.2. Syntactic distribution of Neg2

One of the most intriguing aspects of sentence negation in ST concerns the syntactic distribution of Neg2 (**fa**), which will be outlined in the following sections. I will adopt the approach argued for in recent literature (Bell, 2004, for Afrikaans; Aboh, 2003, 2004 for Gbe) that, unlike French **pas**, Neg2 in ST is a negative functional head (Neg°) and not a specifier. Arguments that point toward this type of analysis are **fa**'s fixed, periph-

⁸ Note further that the absolute negation markers in ST are **inô**, **nô** or **não** 'no'.

⁹ DeGraff (1993) shows that French specifier **pas** (cf. Pollock 1989) gave rise to Haitian Creole's (HC) negative head **pa**. The properties of ST's **na** resemble HC's **pa**, but the latter language does not exhibit discontinuous negation.

eral position and its impossibility of being modified. Unlike N-words in ST, Neg2 cannot precede Neg1 or stay in preverbal position (cf. French *ne pas parler*¹⁰ vs. ST *na fla fâ/*na fâ fla*).

An analysis of sentence negation in ST also has to take into account the fact that the relation between Neg1 and Neg2 is established in terms of c-command. This can be demonstrated by a negative clause containing a subject relative clause:

- (12) **Maji** [_{IP} **ngê** [_{CP} **ku na sa fê fâ**] [_{NegP} **na ka**
 but person REL Neg1 be ugly Neg2 Neg1 ASP
mendu letlatu fâ].
 fear photo Neg2.
 ‘But persons that aren’t ugly do not fear photo’s.’

Here Neg2 has to occur with each instance of Neg1. Since Ross (1967), it is standard practice to analyze relative clauses as CP adjuncts. Since this adjunct is a lower embedded domain for negation, Neg1 inside the relative clause cannot c-command the main predicate and requires independent negation. The lack of c-command also explains why (37) does not exhibit a single Neg2 in sentence final position, as in (24a).

3.2.1. Simplex sentences

Neg2 occurs to the right of all the material internal to the verb phrase, as well as simple adverbs when they occur in post-verbal position.¹¹

- (13) **Ê na ka bila konsê xitu ku kwa sa nê fâ.**
 3SG Neg1 ASP turn know place that thing be in-it Neg2
 ‘He doesn’t recognize the place where the thing is.’

- (14) **Nê ũa ngê nê ladron na ka poto ala**
 not one person not-even thief Neg1 ASP step there
ku ope fâ.
 with foot Neg2
 ‘Nobody, not even a thief, enters that place.’

¹⁰ Cf. Simpson & Wu (2002) for a focus-based approach to the historical development of French *pas*.

¹¹ In preverbal position, these adverbs obligatorily precede Neg1.

In examples like (13-14), Neg2 can only occupy the final position with respect to other constituents. In other creolized languages that exhibit discontinuous negation, Afrikaans (Bell 2004, Robbers 1997) and Palenquero (Dieck 2000, Schwegler 1991), PPs or CPs may pattern to the left or the right of Neg2. This has been taken as evidence that Neg2 has additional focus properties (cf. Robbers 1993 for Afrikaans) that are absent in ST.

- (15) A *na* *mêse* (**fâ*) *pa* *bô* *be* **(fâ)*.
 IMP Neg1 want (Neg2) for 2SG go Neg2
 ‘They don’t want you to go.’

Nevertheless, PP adjuncts headed by the spatio-temporal prepositions *djina* ‘since’ and *antê* ‘until’ are exceptional in the sense that they may occur to the left or the right of *fa* (cf. 16). If these adjuncts are of a full clausal type (cf. 17), however, they pattern obligatorily to the right of Neg2.¹²

- (16) Ê *na* *ka* *ba* *kume* (*antê plaman*) *fâ* (*antê plaman*).
 3SG Neg1 ASP go eat (until morning) Neg2 (until morning)
 ‘I didn’t eat {until / since} the morning.’
 (17) Ê *na* *ka* *ba* *kume* (**antê plaman* *ka* *bili*) *fâ*
 (until morning ASP open)
 (*antê plaman* *ka* *bili*).
 3SG Neg1 ASP go eat (until morning ASP open) Neg2
 ‘He isn’t going to eat until daybreak.’

It can be shown that contrastive focus can only operate on those elements that are within the scope of negation. For that reason, the adjunct *antê taji* in (18a) can indeed be contrastively focused, whereas the b. example cannot (it is therefore ungrammatical). In the c. example the verb is in the scope of negation and can thus be under focus. This leads to the conclusion that ST is not totally opaque to the relation between scope and focus.

¹² Compare, for instance, Kamp & Reyle (1993: 628-34) on the specificity of until/since adjuncts with respect to event structure.

- (18) a. Ê *na* *ka* *ba* *kume* *antê* *plaman* *fâ*, *maji*
 3SG Neg1 ASP go eat until morning Neg2 but
antê taji.
 until afternoon
 ‘He doesn’t eat until the morning but until the afternoon.’
 b. *Ê *na* *ka* *ba* *kume* *fâ* *antê* *plaman*, *maji antê taji.*
 c. Ê *na* *ka* *ba* *kume* *fâ* *antê* *plaman*, *maji bêbê.*
 ‘He doesn’t eat until the morning but he drinks.’

In addition to these adjuncts, sentence-level emphasis markers typically appear to the right of Neg2.

- (19) Sun *na* *tôlô* *fâ* *ô!*
 He Neg1 silly Neg2 EMPH
 ‘He (formal) is not silly!’
 (20) Kyê *avo*, *punda* *Dêsu* *avo*, *na* *da* *mu*
 EXCL grandma because God grandma Neg1 give me
fâ fan!
 Neg2 EMPH
 ‘Oh, please grandma, don’t beat me!’

It is not uncommon to find languages where emphasis markers are associated with a standard negation marker without having completed the final steps of Jespersen’s cycle (e.g. Krongu in Kahrel 1996: 89-90). In ST, emphasis/insistence markers commonly co-occur with Neg2, as in (19-20). Two emphasis markers are mutually exclusive (cf. 20), since it would be intuitively awkward to express different attitudes towards a single proposition.¹³

- (21) Bô *sa* *tôlô* { *ê* / *ô* / **ô ê* / **ê ô* / ... }!
 2SG are silly EMPH
 ‘You are silly!’

This constitutes additional evidence in support of the claim that Neg2 is inherently negative and does not share its structural position with emphasis markers in modern ST. In Hagemeijer (2003) I have argued that *fa* and *fan* (cf. 20) are very likely to share the same origin but followed independent paths of functionalization, which is why in modern ST they

¹³ For discussion of these markers, see for instance Lefebvre (1998: 213-217).

are able to co-occur. In a very few sentences in my corpus, **fan** – and not **fa** – co-occurs with Neg1.¹⁴

- (22) **Sangê na-a plopi men bô fan.**
 lady Neg-be proper mother POSS EMPH
 ‘She’s not your real mother.’

Non-negative **fan**, on the other hand, is frequently pronounced as **fa**, with either no nasalization or very weak nasalization. This **fan~fa** typically occurs in imperatives (cf. 20), exclamatives (cf. 23) or insists upon prior discourse or contradicts it (cf. 24).

- (23) **Ami me fan, mina mu!**
 1SG myself EMPH child POSS
 ‘I myself, my child!’
- (24) - **Bô na ka fe ôtlo kwa fô?**
 2SG NEG ASP do other thing NEG-EMPH
 - **Ami? N ga fe fan.**
 Me 1SG ASP do EMPH
 ‘Don’t you do something else? Me? I do so/Yes I do.’

3.2.2. Complex sentences

In this section I will provide a description of the behavior of Neg2 when several clausal domains are involved. It will be shown that some clausal domains cannot be crossed, whereas others are transparent, allowing Neg2 to occur in sentence-final position.

Embedding with Neg2 in sentence final position

When **na** occurs in the matrix and selects a clausal complement, **fa** always occurs in sentence final position. This is illustrated in (25-26), where a declarative and a volitional verb, respectively, embed a complement clause.

- (25) **Ome se na fla kuma ê sa kunhadu bô fa.**
 man SP Neg1 say that 3SG is brother-in-law POS Neg2
 ‘That man didn’t say he’s your brother-in-law.’

¹⁴ In written data from the late 19th century, it is typically **fan** (and not **fa**) that occurs as Neg2 (cf. Negreiros 1895).

- (26) Sun na mēsê pa sun ba nala ku mosu sun
 3SG Neg1 want for 3SG go in-there with boy POS
 se fô.
 SP Neg2-EMPH
 'He (formal) doesn't want to go there with his son.'

In (27), fronting of the embedded domain shows that syntactically **fa** does actually not belong to this clause.

- (27) Kuma ê sa kunhadu bô, ome se na fla fâ.
 that 3SG is brother-in-law POS man SP Neg1 say Neg2
 'That he is your brother-in-law, the man didn't say.'

Simultaneous negation of the embedded clause results in a double occurrence of Neg1 and a single instance of Neg2, which cannot be reduplicated in ST (28a). Nevertheless, fronting of the embedded clause in the b. sentence shows that both domains are independently negated:

- (28) a. Ome se na fla kuma ê na sa kunhadu bô fâ (*fâ)
 'The man didn't say he isn't your brother-in-law.'
 b. Kuma ê na sa kunhadu bô fâ, ome na fla fâ.
 'That he isn't your brother-in-law, the man didn't say.'

Although ST does not exhibit two Neg2 in final position, it is likely that this is due to a phonological constraint. In closely related Fa d'Ambô (AB), double Neg2 does occur and is compulsory with complement clauses (Post 1997: 301):

- (29) E na bi fa e na ske bi = f = uf.
 3Sg Neg1 ANT say 3SG Neg1 IRR come=Neg2=Neg2
 'He did not say he would not come.'

In addition to standard complement clauses, several other constructions allow 'long distance' placement of Neg2. This is respectively shown by serial verb constructions in (30), temporal final clauses (cf. 31), circumstantial negative clauses (cf. 32), comparative clauses in (33) and final relative clauses (cf. 34). Note that in all these examples the final position is the only position available for **fa**.

- (30) Pedlu na ligi mina tlega san fâ.
 Pedlu Neg1 lift-up child hand-over lady Neg2
 'Pedlu didn't hand over the child to the lady.'

- (31) **Zon na kume plumê zo pa bébé fâ.**
 Zon Neg1 eat first then for drink Neg2
 ‘Zon didn’t eat first to drink next.’
- (32) **Ê na ka nda sê pa ê da topi fâ.**
 3SG Neg1 ASP walk without for 3SG give trip Neg2
 ‘He doesn’t walk without tripping.’
- (33) **Zon na sa maxi lônô dôkê manu dê fâ.**
 3SG Neg1 be more tall than brother of-3SG Neg2
 ‘He isn’t taller than I am.’
- (34) **Firminu soku na da mu plastiku pa n dêsê**
 Firminu FOC Neg1 give me plastic-bag for 1SG descend
ku ê fâ.
 with 3SG Neg2
 ‘Firmino didn’t give me a plastic bag to go down (to town) with.’

I will not exhaustively discuss the syntactic structure of these examples. The general observation is that the downstairs clause must occupy a relatively low position in the structure, crucially contrasting with the structures in (35-39) below. In Hagemeijer (2000), I argued that VP₂ in serial verb constructions in ST (cf. 30) can be analyzed as adjuncts to a lower AspP.¹⁵ This correctly predicts that both VPs forming a single complex predicate are in the scope of NegP. Examples (31) and (32) are presumably instances of adjunction of a CP to VP, (33) an adjunction of a CP to AdjP and (34) embeds a final relative (**pa n dêsê ku ê**) under the Theme argument of the verb *da* ‘give’. This CP adjunction occurs lower in the VP and is not a barrier for Neg2.

Assuming these intuitions are on the right track, it follows that adjunctions below NegP (**na**) have to occur to the left of Neg2. This hypothesis is supported by data on negative coordination, provided in section 4.3.

¹⁵ Note that VP₂ in serializing languages typically does not carry tense. Sometimes VP₂ may carry aspect (e.g. ST or Saramaccan), but in other cases, e.g. Haitian, all the functional material is concentrated in VP₁.

Embedding with Neg2 in clause-final position

The following structures, among others, block **fa**: coordination and disjunction at sentence level (cf. 35), adversative clauses (cf. 36), causal clauses with **punda** ‘because’ (cf. 37), conditional clauses (cf. 38) and until/since clauses (cf. 39).

- (35) **Kaso se na tê ôpê fâ, na tê mon fâ,**
 dog SP Neg1 have leg Neg2, Neg1 have forefoot Neg2
na tê dentxi fâ, maji ê ka mode pasa.
 Neg1 have tooth Neg2 but 3SG ASP bite surpass
 ‘That dog doesn’t have backfeet, nor forefeet nor teeth, but it has a mean bite.’
- (36) **Mali na kaba ku mali fâ, sela ben.** (Daio 2002: 18)
 bad Neg1 finish with bad Neg2 only good
 ‘Bad doesn’t put an end to bad, only good does.’
- (37) **Mina na ka pô kaza ku pobli fâ, punda pobli**
 Girl Neg1 ASP can marry with poor Neg2 because poor
sa pobli.
 be poor
 ‘The girl cannot marry a poor guy because a poor guy is a poor guy.’
- (38) **Xi ê na bê faka fâ, ê na bêbê vin fâ.**
 if 3SG Neg1 see knife Neg2 3SG Neg1 drink wine Neg2
 ‘If he doesn’t find the knife, he won’t drink wine.’
- (39) **Sun Faxiku na lega vesu fâ antê ê bi da**
 Mr. Faxiku Neg1 abandon verse Neg2 until 3SG come give
tudu kwa se di 1953.
 all thing SP of 1953
 ‘Mr. Faxiku didn’t stop writing until all those things of 1953 occurred.’

A comparison between (30-34) and (35-39) leads to the conclusion that the adjoined clausal domains in (35-39) have a higher degree of independence from the main clause. The type of enumeration (or multiple coordination) in (35) is presumably an instance of adjunction at subject level, so that the first subject is able to c-command the following empty subject positions. The **sela**-construction obtaining contrastive readings, in (36), is of an elliptic nature and should therefore occupy a higher adjunction site, crucially above negation. The structure is illustrated in (40).

- (40) **Ome se na mata plôkô fâ**, [_{CP} **sela** [_{IP} **ome** [_{VP} **mata kabla**]]].
 Man SP Neg1 kill pig Neg2 but goat
 ‘The man in question didn’t kill the pig but the goat.’

Examples (37-39) above are adjoined above NegP as well. In ST, adjuncts that are able to carry independent tense always occur outside the scope of negation. By assuming that Neg1 and Neg2 occupy a fixed position in ST’s sentence structure, light is shed on the distributional properties of the different types of adjuncts. The basic idea is that some adjuncts occur low in the structure, presumably below NegP, whereas others occur above this position. This is in line with the consensual general assumption that the degree of dependence from a matrix clause reflects different structural positions (cf. for instance Lobo, 2002; Haegeman, 2002, and references cited therein).

In a few cases, adjuncts are overtly ambiguous with respect to negation. This is illustrated by embedding a causal clause and a purposive clause in (42) and (43) respectively. As expected, the a. and b. examples can also be set apart on intonational grounds, represented by a comma.

- (42) a. **Zon na ka fla fâ**, [**plôvya migu dê**].
 Zon Neg1 ASP speakNeg2 because friend of-3SG
 ‘Zon doesn’t speak because of his friend.’
 b. **Zon na ka fla [plôvya migu dê] fâ**.
 ‘It isn’t because of his friend that Zon doesn’t speak.’
 (43) a. **Ome na fisa zanela fâ**, [**pa bê kinte**].
 man Neg1 close window Neg2 to see garden
 ‘The man didn’t close the window to see the garden.’
 [his purpose was to see the garden]
 b. **Ome na bili zanela [pa bê kinte] fâ**.
 The man didn’t open the window to see the garden
 [but for some other reason]

It should be noted that not all my informants accept the causal clause to the right of **fâ**. In addition to being connected with scope marking, this hesitation may very well be related to tense. Note that the tensed causal clause in (37) obligatorily occurs to the right of Neg2. The ambiguity of because-clauses with respect to scope marking (of negation) is found in many languages and argues strongly in favor of an analysis in terms of lower and higher adjunction sites.

3.3. Contexts without Neg2

ST presents a number of constructions in which *fa* does not occur alongside Neg1. The common ground between these constructions is of a modal nature, namely the lack of commitment to the truth condition of the negation.

When negation occurs inside non-selected *pa*-clauses that express purpose, or function as admonitions, Neg2 generally does not occur (cf. also the examples in (5)).

- (44) N fuji fala pa fala na lélê mu.
 1SG flee rumor for rumor Neg1 follow me
 ‘I fled from the rumors, so they wouldn’t follow me.’
- (45) Milhon pa bô na b’élê.
 better for 2SG Neg1 see-3SG
 ‘It’s better you don’t see him.’
- (46) Kwidadu pa manjinga se ku n sa ku ê
 careful for aggressive-person SP REL SG be with 3SG
 na subli mu.
 Neg1 go-up me
 ‘Be careful that the aggressive person in me doesn’t take over.’

This syntactic constraint sensitive to the modal interpretation of these clauses has an effect similar to the use of subjunctive morphology in identical constructions in Romance languages. In the case of both admonitions (45-46), the judgments as to the occurrence of Neg2 are somewhat variable. The **kwidadu**-construction, however, is more generally accepted without Neg2 than is the **milhon**-construction. Despite the fact that standard final clauses (44) typically occur without Neg2, I was able to find some exceptional cases where Neg2 occurred. In (47), the realization of Neg2 must be due to the fact that the contrastive clause introduced by **maji** ‘but’ cancels the hypothetical status of the purposive clause, given its blocking effect on volition.

- (47) Mwala ska golo p’ê fuji pa n na b’élê
 Woman ASP search for-3SG flee for 1SG Neg1 see-3SG
 fa, maji n b’élê.
 Neg2 but 1SG see-3SG
 ‘The woman was trying to flee so I wouldn’t see her, but I did see her.’

Interrogative constructions without Neg2 are also common. Instead, the question marker **an** often shows up in the final slot.

- (48) **Kloson na ka dwê sun an?**
 heart Neg1 ASP hurt you INT
 ‘Doesn’t your heart ache?’

In interrogatives, however, the presence or absence of Neg2 clearly brings about a contrast in the presuppositions held by the speaker:

- (49) a. **Bô na bê nadaxi di bisu ni kabêsa mu fâ?**
 b. **Bô na bê nadaxi di bisu ni kabêsa mu an?**
 2SG Neg1 see nothing of animal on head my {fa/an}
 ‘Haven’t you seen any animals on my head?’

In yes/no questions like (49), the presence of **fa** represents the speaker’s presupposition of a negative answer (superficially similar to a negative tag) based upon his knowledge of the world, whereas the b. sentence with question marker **an** (which could optionally be omitted) is neutral with respect to the speaker’s presupposition. The following sequence reinforces the idea that **fa** in questions carries a negative expectation and insists upon prior discourse.

- (50) A: **N fla an: bô kônsê mu?**
 1SG say EMPH 2SG know me?
 B: **Não.**
 no
 A: **Bô na kônsê mu fâ?**
 2SG Neg1 know me Neg2
 ‘Don’t you know me?’

Exclamatives are also commonly found without Neg2. Example (51) represents the speaker’s desire, (52) is a case of irony and (53-54) are instances of expletive negation, where negation is not actually semantically contentful (cf. Portner & Zanuttini, 2000).

- (51) Ê *na* *pô* *nganha* *posta* *se!*¹⁶
 3SG Neg1 can win bet SP
 ‘No way could he win that bet!’
- (52) *Jina* *n* *sen*, *n* *naxi* *b’êlê!*
 since 1SG exist 1SG Neg1 see-3SG
 ‘I have never seen him in my whole life!’
- (53) *Inen* *na* *sêbê* *mo* *inen* *nganha* *ke!?*
 3PL Neg1 know how 3PL arrive house
 ‘They know how they got home!’
- (54) *Kê* *kwa!?* *N* *na* *fada* *nansê* *kwa* *se!*
 what thing / 1SG Neg1 tell 2PL thing SP
 ‘What!? Didn’t I tell you so!’

Finally, I was able to find a very small number of proverbs with conditional clauses lacking Neg2:

- (55) *Tudu* *kasô* *xi* Ê *na* *môlê* *ni* *flankotxi*,
 all dog if 3SG Neg1 die in rifle
 ‘Every dog, if it doesn’t die by rifle, ...’

If the diachronic hypothesis outlined in section 1. is correct, it might very well be the case that the expression of doubt in archaic expressions was better able to preserve an older pattern, without Neg2, and resisted the more innovative pattern (discontinuous negation) at a certain stage of its development.

Kahrel (1996) provides evidence for the non-factual status of additional negation markers cross-linguistically. His finding rests upon the fact that these markers (generally corresponding to Neg2 in ST) often have multiple functions that altogether can be described as irrealis. We have shown that modern ST does not fit this typology, given the full grammaticalization of Neg2 as a negation marker and the consequent unmarked status of *na...fa*. As shown, it is rather the absence of *fa*, and not its presence, that triggers marked modal, discursive and pragmatic interpretations. As mentioned, these are exactly the type of environments that one would expect to better resist innovative negation patterns. The continuum of conservative (Neg1) and unmarked (Neg1...Neg2) is completed by the innovative patterns (Neg2) discussed in the next section.

¹⁶ It should be noted that, in general, negative clauses without *fa* exhibit a specific prosody with additional pitch on the final syllable. We leave this issue open for further research.

3.4. Contexts without Neg1

Some instances of contrastive negation lack the preverbal marker (Neg1), but this is a rather uncommon pattern. This type of negation with **fa** or, frequently, its emphatic counterpart **fô**, requires an appropriate discourse trigger, as follows from the following examples:

- (56) **Ni glêntu d'awa? Sabi kyê nê fô!**
 in inside of-water /key fall in-3SG NEG-EMPH
 'In the water? The key didn't fall in there!'
- (57) **Ola ku ngê ka saka nda kansadu, ê toka**
 when KU people ASP ASP walk tired 3SG should
bêbê awa fô.
 drink water NEG-EMPH
 'When people are tired, they shouldn't drink water.'

This pattern hinges upon the denial of immediately prior discourse and constitutes yet another piece of evidence for the link between Neg2 and intensification. Note in this respect that, in both the above examples, the emphatic form is employed. LU shifted fully towards this final pattern, which must therefore have been the innovative pattern at some (early) developmental stage of the GGC.

Furthermore, ST uses Neg2 to contrastively negate constituents, which confirms the truly negative semantics of Neg2.

- (58) **Karu fâ!**
 Car Neg2
 'Not the car!'
- (59) **Zon ka fla, glita fâ!**
 Zon ASP speak shout Neg2
 'Zon speaks; he doesn't shout!'

Constituent negation with Neg2 has to be set apart from sentential negation for it is a local relation between negation and a constituent, without need or evidence to project full clausal structure. It is likely that in these cases the negated constituent moves to the specifier position of the XP headed by **fa**.

4. Other negative environments

In this section I will discuss the behavior of Neg2 in other negative environments. Section 4.1. provides several negative environments that confirm the hypothesis that Neg2 is exclusively dependent on a preverbal NegP. Section 4.2. discusses instances of negative concord (NC) with N-words and in section 4.3. we will show how Neg2 behaves in negative coordination structures.

4.1. Items that do not license NegP

The previous sections have shown that, as an instance of sentence negation, Neg2 is triggered by an overt Neg1, typically one of the items mentioned in section 3.1., with which it forms the unmarked negation pattern in ST. In the final section I will claim that the projection corresponding to both negative morphemes is always present, but that specific features may inhibit the overt presence of one of these morphemes. This means that, for instance, the exclusive sentence final marker in sentence negation (56-57) would be dependent on the presence of a covert Neg1 (na). To claim that Neg2 in these exceptional cases is the exclusive negation marker, instead of Neg1...Neg2, would needlessly complicate any kind of analysis for ST.¹⁷

The tight relation between Neg1 and Neg2 is supported by language-internal evidence drawn from other aspects of negation. If Neg2 is bound to Neg1, the prediction is that the lack of one of the preverbal items (na, naxi, nanta) should induce the absence of fa at clause-level.

Adjunct clauses headed by the preposition *sê*¹⁸ ‘without’ in fact corroborate this claim. This preposition licenses N-words without canceling negation (cf. 60) and enters in negative coordination in (61), but despite its fully negatively specified features, *sê* cannot license Neg2. This is expected because both examples (60) and (61) involve constituent negation (of NP and VP respectively) and therefore NegP is not projected.

- (60) *Sososo n fika sê nê ũa mina (*fà).*
 then 1SG remain without no one child Neg2
 ‘Then I was left without a child.’

¹⁷ Despite the existence of some exclusive final negation patterns in modern ST, there is no evidence whatsoever that this pattern will replace the standard discontinuous pattern.

¹⁸ *Sê* has its origin in Portuguese *sem* ‘without’.

- (61) **Inen ka nguli lison di poson mo lwe, sê**
 3PL ASP swallow lesson of town way disguised without
fla ku inen nê pam-pa-ram-pa nê pim-pi-rim-pi (*fâ).
 speak with 3PL nor pam-pa-ram-pa nor pim-pi-rim-pi Neg2
 ‘They acted as if they accepted the lessons of town (life) without
 speaking to them nor *pam-pa-ram-pa* nor *pim-pi-rim-pi*.’

Nho¹⁹, most typically used as an existential negation marker that negates nouns and pronouns, does not trigger **fa**, which is again expected in the absence of clausal structure.

- (62) **Djêlu nho (*fâ).**
 Money EX-NEG
 ‘I don’t have money.’
- (63) **Non nho nê (*fâ).**
 1PL EX-NEG in-3SG
 ‘We’re not into this.’

Finally, the adverb **antawo** ‘yet, still’ always gains a negative meaning when it occurs as an isolated answer and does not trigger Neg2 as well.

- (64) **Bô fe stluvisu? Antawo (*fâ).**
 2SG do work? Not yet
 ‘Did you do the work? Not yet.’

Altogether, this should suffice as evidence that Neg2 is only licensed whenever it can be linked to the (functional) projection that hosts Neg1. The materialization of this relation between both negative elements will be shortly addressed in the final section.

4.2. N-words

Negative quantifiers

ST exhibits negative concord (NC), the presence of more than one negative element in the same clause yielding the interpretation of a single instance of negation rather than cancelling it out. The items that enter NC in ST are distributed over two classes: negative quantifiers and minimizing elements. The two items under discussion, **nadaxi** ‘nothing’ and **nê ũa ngê** ‘nobody’ (lit. not one person) are the standard negative quantifiers,

¹⁹ The lexical form **nho** is probably derived from Portuguese **nenhum** ‘not one (N)’ but its use is distinct from its Portuguese counterpart.

although **nê ũa** may also modify nouns and pronouns in general (cf. **nê ũa mina** in (60)). Both items occur in subject position (65a and 66a), in object position (65b and 66b) and as object of prepositions (65c and 66c).

- (65) a. **Nê ũa ngê na glita fõ!**
Not one person Neg1 scream Neg2-EMPH
'Nobody screamed!'
- b. **Inen na tê nê ũa mina fõ!**
3PL Neg1 have not one child Neg2-EMPH
'They don't have any children!'
- c. **Ê na ka pô kaza ku nê ũa ngê fã,**
3SG Neg1 ASP can marry with not one person Neg2,
sel'êlê.
except-3SG
'She cannot marry anyone, except for him.'
- (66) a. **Sun Alê, nadaxi na pasa pa n konta sun fõ.**
Mr. King nothing Neg1 happen for 1SG tell Mr. Neg2-
EMPH
'Sir King, nothing happened that I should tell you about.'
- b. **N na mēsê pa a f'inen nadaxi fã.**
1SG Neg1 want for IMP do-3PL nothing Neg2
'I don't want them to do them any harm.'
- c. **N be ku nadaxi.**
1SG go with nothing
'I went with nothing.'

Negative quantifiers, especially **nadaxi**, are often fronted to the initial position (as illustrated in examples (67) and (68), maintaining a single negative reading for the sentence (unlike English for instance).

- (67) [**Nadaxi**]_i **non na tê [-]_i pa a fe kume fã.**
nothing 1PL Neg1 have for IMP make food Neg2
'We haven't got ANYTHING to prepare food with.'
- (68) [**Nadaxi**]_i **so n na mēsê [-]_i fã.**
nothing FOC 1SG Neg1 want Neg2
'I don't want ANYTHING.'

An interesting property of the above examples is the obligatory co-occurrence of the standard negation marker with these negative quantifiers, even when the negative quantifier precedes Neg1 (cf. 67-68). This is actually the pattern found in many languages, such as Old Romance

(Martins 1997, 2001), modern Rumanian (Posner 1984), Serbo-Croatian (Progovac 1994) or Haitian Creole (DeGraff 1993; Déprez 1999). Martins (1997, 2001) shows that in Old Romance the items licensed by standard negation are weak negative polarity items (NPI's) because they are often found in non-negative modal environments. These weak NPI's developed into strong NPI's with intrinsically negative meaning and this explains, for example, why preverbal N-words suspend the occurrence of the standard negation marker in modern Portuguese and most Romance.

Although it is not clear whether ST borrowed this particular aspect of the syntax of its negation pattern from (vernacular) Classic Portuguese, this type of analysis does not fit the data in ST, where **nadaxi** and **nê ũa (ngê)** carry intrinsically negative meaning in all environments. Therefore, and for reasons of space, I shall not go through the extensive number of polarity tests available in the relevant literature and limit myself to providing two well-known tests taken from Zanuttini (1991) to illustrate that negative items are indeed negatively specified.

(a) Modification:

- (69) **Kwaxi nê ũa ngê na bi fa.**
 hardly not one person Neg1 come Neg2
 'Hardly anybody came.'
 (70) **Sê sêbê kwaxi nadaxi.**
 without know hardly nothing
 'Without hardly knowing anything.'

(b) Isolation:

- (71) **Kê ngê bi? Nê ũa ngê.**
 which person come? Not one person
 Who came? No one.
 (72) **Kwa ku fe bô ê? Nadaxi.**
 Thing KU do 2SG EMPH? nothing
 'What did you do? Nothing.'

Examples (71-72) also show that negative quantifiers, like the items discussed in the previous section, do not by themselves trigger Neg2, which is expected since they do not fill the head of NegP.

Minimizers

In addition to the negative quantifiers above, ST also displays a number N-words that are in the scope of and intensify negation (cf. Horne 1989; Schwegler 1990, a.o.). I am aware of the following: **nê sombla** (lit.

not-even shadow), **nê pwêla** (lit. not-even dust), **nê pikina** (lit. not-even little), **nê uku~niuku~niku** (lit. not-even dirt), **nê minge** (lit. not-even crumb), all sharing the meaning ‘(nothing) at all’.²⁰

- (73) Ê **na** **kume** {**nê pikina/nê pwêla/nê minge**}
 3SG Neg1 eat {not-even little/not-even dust/not-even crumb}
 fâ.
 Neg2
 ‘He didn’t eat anything at all.’

In many languages (either with or without NC), minimizers are weak NPIs because they bear no negative specification on their own (e.g. I didn’t have a red cent). This polarity effect is not visible in ST and confirms the tendency observed for negative quantifiers that items that enter NC have inherent negative meaning.

As in other languages, minimizers are more restricted than negative quantifiers in the sense that they are dependent on the semantic properties of the predicate they occur with (e.g. I don’t have a red cent vs. *I didn’t eat a red cent) and, probably due to this marked nature, there is some variability in the grammatical judgments of native speakers. Nevertheless, these N-words have, by and large, the same properties as true negative quantifiers (e.g. may occur in isolation, can be fronted, etc.). The fact that N-words obligatorily co-occur with standard discontinuous negation without canceling negation supports an agreement relation in negative sentences.

4.3. Negative coordination

Another interesting and complex domain of negation in ST are negative coordinate structures, especially because they provide further insight into the way Neg2 interacts with sentence structure.

The preverbal negation markers **na**, **naxi** and **nantan** (cf. section 3.1.), for a start, may enter asyndetic negative coordination with overtly realized subjects. Neg2 obligatorily occurs in each conjunct and no arguments can be extracted out of the conjuncts (Ross’ Coordinate Structure Constraint).

- (74) a. N **naxi** **tê** **mwala** **fâ** (,) n **naxi** **tê** **mina** **fâ**.
 1SG Neg1 have wife Neg2 1SG Neg1 have child Neg2
 ‘I don’t have a wife or children yet.’

²⁰ These minimizers all have Portuguese etymologies.

- b. *[Mwala]_i so bô *naxi tê* [-]_i *fâ bô naxi tê mina fâ*.
 wife FOC Neg1 have Neg2 1SG Neg1 have child Neg2

Any of the three Neg1 markers may entertain negative coordination with conjunction *nê* ‘nor’.²¹ The following examples are instances of coordination of objects at aspectual, tense and sentential level respectively.

- (75) *Zon na mata zuxi nê avogadu fâ*.
 Zon Neg1 kill judge nor lawyer Neg2.
 ‘Zon didn’t kill the judge nor the lawyer.’
- (76) *Zon na ka da nê lêsébê plêsêntxi fâ*.
 Zon Neg1 ASP give nor receive gift Neg2
 ‘Zon doesn’t offer nor receive gifts.’
- (77) *Zon na tava kloga nê kyê fâ*.
 Zon Neg1 TNS slip nor fall Neg2
 ‘Zon had not slipped nor fallen.’
- (78) *Zon na ka kume pixi fâ nê ê na ka ngosta kani fâ*.
 Zon Neg1 ASP eat fish Neg2 nor 3SG Neg1 ASP like
 meat Neg2
 ‘Zon doesn’t eat fish and he doesn’t like meat.’

Assuming that ST’s simplified basic surface word order for negative sentences is SUBJ – Neg1 – TNS – ASP – V – OBJ – Neg2 (cf. final section for discussion), it follows that Neg2 occurs only once, in sentence final position (i.e. to the right of the 2nd conjunct), whenever coordination is established at VP level or lower, as illustrated in (75-77). When TNS or ASP is lexically realized in the second conjunct, the conjuncts are coordinated all the way up to the subject level (say, IP), requiring independent discontinuous negation in each conjunct (cf. 78). This is why sentences like (79) are ungrammatical.

- (79) **Zon na ka kloga nê ka kyê fâ*. (cf. 73)
 Zon Neg1 ASP slip nor ASP fall NEG2

It should be noted that coordinate structures are also obtained by *nê...nê*. From its structural position, it follows straightforwardly that *nê*

²¹ This morpheme can be traced back to Portuguese *nem* ‘not, not even, nor’, a negation marker typically – but not exclusively – used in coordination on par with canonical negation marker *não* (cf. Matos 2003).

does not occupy NegP but rather exhibits similarities with preposition *sê* (cf. 60-61). In fact, Neg1...Neg2 becomes optional in these structures, as illustrated below.

- (80) *Nê kompa nê sun se (na) tê sotxi (fâ).*
 nor godfather nor Mr. SP (Neg1) have luck (Neg2)
 'Neither the godfather nor that man have luck.'
- (81) *Nê Maya kopla lôpa se nê Zon (na) bëndê pixi (fâ).*
 nor Maya buy cloth SP nor Zon (Neg1) sell fish (Neg2)
 'Neither Maya bought that cloth nor did Zon sell fish.'

In the previous section it was observed that N-words obligatorily induce *na...fa*, but that this happens not because their negative features are weak but rather because there is an agreement principle between the strong negative features of N-words and the occurrence of standard negation. In view of this, *nê* would then lack these strong negative features. This follows not only from the optional status of *na...fa*, but also from the fact that, unlike its Portuguese lexical counterpart, *nê* also occurs as an affirmative conjunction in a very few highly specific environments.

- (82) *Êlê so sa kapataji di tudu ngê ku sa vivu nê*
 3SG FOC be foreman of all people REL be alive and
ku sa motxi.
 REL be dead.
 'He's the foreman of all people that are alive or dead.'
- (83) *Mosu mu studa ni China, txila kursu ni China.*
 boy my study in China take course in China
Nê êlê nê mwala dê.
 and he and wife of-3SG
 'My sun studied in China, took his course in China. He and his wife.'

In the example above, the standard way to coordinate the pronoun and the noun would be *êlê ku mwala dê* 'he and his wife' (lit: he with wife of-he). It is likely that in a scenario of creolization Portuguese *nem* became reanalyzed as a generalized conjunction that could show up in negative and affirmative environments. It should further be noted that at least in modern ST *nê...nê* only has an affirmative meaning if it occurs in isolation and follows affirmative contexts (cf. 83). Since *Nê êlê nê mwala dê* in (83) occurs without any additional structure, notably the VP, it acquires an affirmative interpretation. In (84), however, the presence of the

VP induces a negative interpretation because the negative features of the coordinated subject are now able to agree with an overt or covert NegP which projects in the presence of the VP.

- (84) **Zon ku manu dê ka ba kopla pixi da Maya.**
 Zon and brother of-3SG ASP go buy fish give Maya
Nê êlê nê manu (na) ka ngosta pixi (fâ).
 neither 3SG nor brother (Neg1) ASP like fish (Neg2)
 Zon and his brother go buy fish for Maya. Neither he nor his
 brother like fish.'

Hence, I conclude that **nê** exhibits polarity sensitivity, acquiring its negative meaning under the scope of negation.²²

5. Findings and final remarks

The data discussed so far have provided some insights into the interaction between negation and sentence structure in ST. The basic negation pattern was shown to consist of Neg1...Neg2. I have also shown evidence that Neg2 is inherently negative and behaves like a scope marker that delimits the scopal range of Neg1, by which it is triggered and c-commanded. It was further claimed that negative propositions that are not actually asserted lack Neg2.

Structurally, complements and completive clauses were shown to occur to the left of Neg2, even though it could be shown that Neg2 does not belong to the downstairs clause (cf. 27). In the light of their distribution with respect to Neg2, adjuncts were claimed to adjoin to projections below NegP or above NegP. I will leave the discussion of the details of these adjunction sites for another venue, although I will present here a very rough analysis that could account for the data under discussion.

Assuming that Neg1...Neg2 in ST is indeed a double-headed discontinuous negation structure, it follows that some standard analyses in which only a single head position is available (Haegeman 1995; Laka 1994; Pollock 1989) are unable to account for the data. Under other analyses, such as PolP-NegP (Zanuttini 1994), negative markers or N-words

²² Cf. Szabolsci (2002, 2003) for discussion on the relation between conjunction/disjunction and polarity, which basically boils down to the scope relations between negation and conjunction/disjunction (cf. De Morgan laws).

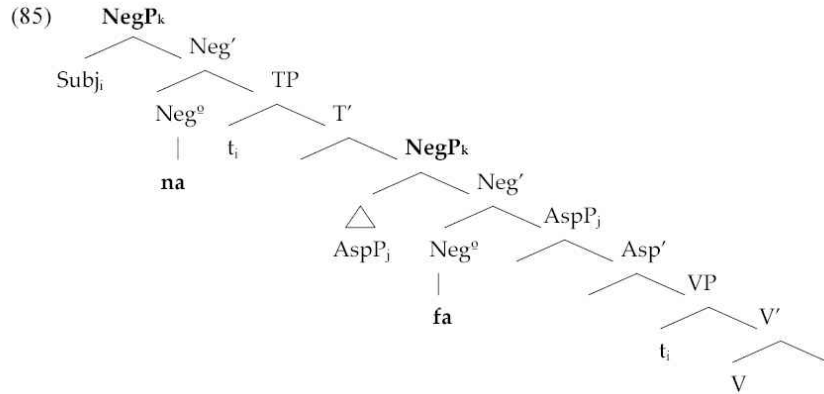
are attracted out of a lower NegP to the higher functional projection PolP. However, the same problem remains, since this type of analysis departs from underlying Specifier-Head (NegP) agreement in a lower functional projection.

Bell (2004) adopts a double-headed analysis for bipartite negation in Afrikaans, claiming that NegP₂ sits in a higher position and NegP₁ is raised across the head of NegP₂ in order to derive the correct surface order. Aboh (2003, 2004: 327-28) also arrives at the conclusion that in Gbe languages with discontinuous negation a double-headed analysis might be superior to the standard Specifier-Head approaches. This author proposes that the full IP, including Neg₁, is raised to the specifier position of NegP₂, which is a functional projection in the complementizer domain (in the spirit of Rizzi 1997), where wide scope over the negative IP is obtained.

Despite the mentioned advantage of double-headedness proposed in these analyses and the consequent theoretical contribution of this new approach, at this stage of my research I consider it counterintuitive to adopt an analysis for the case of ST in which NegP₂ (corresponding to **fa**) has scope over NegP₁ (**na**). Except for constituent negation, I assume that Neg₂ only occurs in the presence of Neg₁, which was shown to occur covertly in the exceptional case of contrastive negation (cf. section 3.4.). Negative purpose clauses (cf. 5a-d), for instance, show that Neg₁ is the crucial negation marker.

Neg₁...Neg₂ is an instance of a non-local relation of agreement between functional projections.²³ In the light of the distributional facts, I suggest the following structure for a negative sentence in ST:

²³ Dieck (2000) proposes that the discontinuous negation patterns in Palenquero are instances of right adjunction to VP and considers Neg₂ a specifier. I do not adopt this type of analyses because Palenquero appears to be different from Afrikaans and Santome in the sense that Neg₂ is not obligatory, although the status of Neg₁...Neg₂ and exclusive Neg₂ structures in Palenquero is still somewhat controversial (cf. also Schwegler 1991).



Following standard assumptions about clause structure, I assume that in a negative clause the subject raises out of VP. In negative clauses, the landing site of the subject would be the specifier of NegP (in affirmative clauses the landing site would be the specifier of TP). As in many Creole languages, following the standard tests (negation, quantifier floating, adverbs positioning), there is no evidence for verb movement (Roberts 1999). Rather, ST follows the general tendency: the verb remains *in situ* in languages with little or no inflectional morphology.

I assume that tense and aspect instantiate independent functional projections, TP and AspP respectively.²⁴ It should be noted that several aspect markers are able to co-occur in the same clause. At this stage of my research I do not take a definitive stand on how syntax deals with recursive aspect. It is however relevant to point out that no other lexical material can split up concatenated aspect markers. This would be unexpected under the hypothesis that functional heads have an available specifier position for adverbs (Cinque 1999). I refer the reader to Aboh (2004) for an interesting discussion of aspect markers in Kwa languages. Aboh's work is of additional interest given a number of typological parallels between ST and Kwa languages.

I further assume that there is no ban on right-adjunction (cf. Ernst, 2002). Thus, modifiers like regular VP adverbs, which always follow the verb (and object), are right-adjoined items. Adopting strict linear correspondence in the sense of Kayne (1994) would unnecessarily force nu-

²⁴ Mood markers may appear in several syntactic positions (typically on top of the clause or in between TP and AspP). Since they are not directly relevant to the present discussion, I do not consider them for the present purpose.

merous movements that are hard to motivate given the findings, i.e. absence of verb movement and verbal morphology, lexical-functional material in place, etc.

My brief incursion into ST's clause structure would not be complete without the core issue: the syntactic representation of negation therein. As shown in (85), there are two NegPs. The topmost NegP directly selects TP and is co-indexed with the lower NegP, which directly selects AspP. The correct surface order of the VP with respect to Neg2 (**fa**) is then obtained by raising this AspP into the specifier of the lower NegP.

Something additional needs to be said about the mechanism of co-indexation between both NegPs if we want to account for those cases where only Neg1 or only Neg2 occurs, as shown in section 3.3. and 3.4. respectively. A possibility worth exploring is that both NegPs have semantic properties translated into a number of features that have to match (as is standardly assumed in the generative literature). Considering the different negative environments studied and the corresponding distinct phonetic realization of negation, I suggest that, in addition to a plain negation feature (responsible for the labels "NegP₁" and "NegP₂"), un(der)specified features of modal and intensificational nature might be useful in explaining away with the observed distribution of the negation patterns.²⁵

The data discussed throughout this article can now be straightforwardly incorporated in the current proposal. The verb and its complements and/or complements clauses, which are selected by AspP, are raised across Neg2 without any further stipulations and neither does the distribution of adjunct clauses with respect to Neg2 pose any significant problems. Those adjunct clauses that do not have independent tense were considered low adjuncts. If an adjunct clause lacks tense, its adjunction site should be somewhere below TP. It follows directly that this site is AspP or lower. Hence, it follows that these adjuncts are raised together with the AspP across Neg2. Not only does the lower coordination type (cf. 76-77) confirm this claim, but so do serial verb constructions (cf. 30). In Hagemeijer (2000) I argued that, in ST, VP₂ is a defective constituent adjoined to AspP – and crucially never higher –, given the possibility of marking aspect on the second verb to derive iteration. Adjunction to AspP makes the correct prediction that there is only one Neg2 available for the full SVC.

²⁵ The further development of this hypothesis is part of my current Ph.D. research.

Adjuncts that do have tense or can be shown to be high-adjoined (cf. ellipsis in (36)) always occur outside the Neg1...Neg2 pattern, which I take as evidence for an adjunction site above the highest NegP. Emphatic **fa(n)** and similar emphasis or insistence/attitude markers should also be considered adjuncts that occur at least above NegP, in order to explain its wider scope in examples such as (20). Under a strict left adjunction hypothesis, these markers would unnecessarily force all the lower material to be raised across them in order to derive the correct surface order.

In conclusion, discontinuous negation in ST has been argued to be a double-headed structure and constitutes yet another piece of evidence in support of the long-standing tradition that distinguishes between peripheral and non-peripheral adjuncts.

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